

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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Notes on the Possible Contributions of Biological Warfare ("BW") to a World War III

DR. THEODOR ROSEBURY *

NOTE: All statements of fact in the following text are taken from non-secret sources, and all opinions are the writer's own, based on these facts and on other freely available information.

The following considerations seem basic:

1. BW in its modern form has never been used in a military operation; field test data have not been made public; hence any prediction can be based only on indirect evidence.

2. BW research and development are known to be continuing in this country; it therefore appears that biological weapons are being readied for use in a World War III.

3. General considerations indicate that the possibilities of defense against BW are not encouraging; hence it is assumed that contemplated applications include offense, either primary or by way of retaliation.

4. The probably overall character of a World War III, with the US and the USSR as principal antagonists, is taken to be such that, at some stage in the conflict, every weapon of military value will be used, without regard to humanitarian consideration, and either without regard to or with a negative regard for immediate or ultimate economic destruction of enemy possessions and property.

5. The characteristics of BW are such as to make its development accessible to any modern country independently of its size, wealth or industrial capacity. There has been no authentic public information on Russian developments in this field. It has been alleged that the USSR set up a BW experiment station shortly after World War I; and recently Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado and others have stated that the Russians have developed BW to a high degree. Since active development of new weapons of other types in the USSR is well known, it must be assumed that they are engaged in BW development.

Some of the possible effects of BW in terms of their influence, respectively, on plants, animals and man are as follows:

Plants. The best known anti-plant agents, developed during World War II principally at Camp Detrick, the US BW station, are the synthetic plant growth regulators, including the new familiar weed killer 2, 4-D and the phenyl-carbonates, which kill grass seedlings and cereals. Information on many of these substances has been widely publicized and is well known all over the world. This fact suggests that even more effective agents may be available under cover of secrecy. Isolated reports on studies of fungi pro-

ducing diseases of plants suggest that self-propagating anti-plant agents may be in prospect. It is known that the plant growth regulators in general, although often thought of as "selective" for particular plant species, owe their apparent selectivity only to concentration effects, and could therefore be used to bring about indiscriminate crop destruction.

Animals. Food animals and others useful to man will suffer from any effective attack on food plants; and any serious effect upon animals will react in turn upon plants, and also upon man, both directly and at longer range by interference with the cycles of nature. Such effects have traditionally been disregarded in war, and are not likely to be given due weight in a World War III; but their long term results may be among the most disastrous consequences of BW.

Animal diseases given prominence in reports of American BW research in World War II included rinderpest, an epidemic disease of cattle, and two virus diseases of poultry, Newcastle disease and fowl plague. Diseases reported on from Camp Detrick which affect both useful animals and man include anthrax, glanders and brucellosis. These comprise only a few of the possibilities. American concern over the recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Mexican cattle suggests the dangers from this and other foreign animal plagues which, once successfully introduced into a country, might be ineradicable even by wholesale preventive slaughter. Mass vaccination, where serviceable vaccines are available, would be very useful in some instances; but neither this nor other available defensive means could be depended upon for adequate overall protection.

Man. For immediate tactical purposes man is likely to be the most important direct victim of BW attacks; and, of course, all BW will be aimed at man either directly or indirectly. Modern epidemiological data, supported by experiments reported from Camp Detrick, indicate that the air is likely to be the most significant vehicle for mass attacks. Infection via the human respiratory tract represents a simple route of attack both biologically and tactically; it is responsible for the most severe natural epidemic diseases (influenza, pneumonic plague, smallpox, etc.); it includes artificial possibilities that cannot be discounted (typhus, yellow fever); and it represents the one great group of diseases of man which have not been controlled by environmental sanitation even under natural peacetime conditions. There is reason to believe that nearly all the agents of human infection reported on from Camp Detrick are applicable to air-borne dissemination, including, in addition to those mentioned in a preceding paragraph, tularemia,

* Dr. Rosebury is connected with the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University. This paper was read at the "Pattern for Survival" conference in New York.

meliodosis, the psittacosis group, and coccidioidomycosis. The strangeness of these names is itself characteristic of BW, which may unleash diseases that are held in check under natural conditions and are therefore little known.

The most probable target areas for BW directed against man are likely to be civilian concentration, particularly in industrial areas. Intended effects on man may include not only death and more or less permanent disability, but also transient incapacitation and demoralization. The psychological possibilities of BW may be as important as any others. Scattered cases of any serious but unusual disease, like encephalitis, psittacosis, meliodosis, or even smallpox, particularly if accompanied in wartime by the implication of a BW attack and the threat of successive attacks, may be tactically just as effective as large numbers of frank casualties.

Attacks by routes of infection other than air may be made, including the use of infected insects or other "vectors," the pollution of water or food supplies, or the perpetration of individual acts of sabotage using these or other means.

The range of possible effects to be expected from BW, in conjunction with other modern means of warfare, is so broad as to give any more specific prediction the character of a mere example, and conversely, almost any example based on what has been said, however seemingly fantastic, is likely to fall within this range. From a saboteur's use of botulinus toxin to contaminate the food in a factory lunchroom to a world wide pandemic of pneumonic plague, almost anything is possible. Attempts to use disease agents with high epidemic capacity, like plague, will doubtless be governed in part by possibilities of their "back-firing" on the attacker. Yet in a World War III between the US and the USSR both the geographical and the ideological factors may be expected to minimize such restraints. Despite atomic bombs such a war is not likely to be short, and as the war proceeded, resort to desperate measures would have to be anticipated increasingly. The great land masses of the two principal antagonists, insulated from each other by oceans and for the most part by intervening lands the dependence of both countries for their war potential on industrial population centers, the presence in both countries of congested slum areas or equivalent breeding places of natural epidemic diseases and the relative self-sufficiency of both countries with respect to their food supplies—all these conditions accentuate the strategic value of BW.

World War III, if it comes, is not likely to be *only* a biological war, but one in which BW may be expected to play its part along with all other weapons, new and old. The characteristics of BW are such that it might be used to begin the war or to end it, or anywhere in between. There is even a possibility that BW might not be used at all, as chemical warfare was not used in World War II. But of all the predictions made or implied in this statement, this one seems to the writer the least reliable.

"THE CHURCH MUST COME TO GRIPS WITH REALITY"—Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. Visit your congressmen and local representatives with a delegation from your church, community clubs, or fellow MFSAers. Discuss the peace issues close to your hearts and the suggestions you have for our government's policy. Secure their commitment to support: Repeal of the Draft and Defeat of UMT; refusal of support to fascist, anti-democratic foreign governments; full international cooperation through the UN and end of by-passing the UN; join and support the World Health Organization; build freedom and brotherhood by saving and extending them here at home.

The Drive Against Freedom

DR. JOHN J. DEBOER*

Those who are bedeviling Condon, the atomic scientists, and other government workers, dismissing college professors and radio and motion picture artists, and suppressing liberal publications, and inciting violence through distortion of news and through inflammatory editorials are attempting to soften up the American people for war. They may succeed if we of the arts, sciences, and professions fail to unite in exposing the enemies of American peace and freedom.

The contemporary drive against the freedom of expression has also another purpose. Signs that a new economic depression, perhaps worse than any that has yet occurred, may strike us soon are already beginning to appear. Even in the absence of such signs, the present decline in the standard of living brought on by sky-rocketing prices is creating a growing discontent which must be channelled off in "safe" directions. So it is that today we are getting red scares instead of meat, loyalty tests instead of houses, and thought control instead of price control. While the attention of the public is directed to the ridiculous Thomas-Rankin committee pyrotechnics, the scuttling of labor and consumer interests can be successfully accomplished by a compliant Congress. Meanwhile the voices of protest are silenced by the witch-hunt and the fear of smear.

The fear is justified so long as individual scientists, artists, teachers, and other professionals must stand alone against their persecutors. Today, as in another era, "we have nothing to fear except fear itself." If alert progressives in schools and colleges, in radio, journalism, movies, and government services can be made afraid, the great fraud can be successfully perpetrated against America's veterans, its industrial workers, its housewives, its school children, and its youth. Our war therefore is the war against fear.

The purveyors of fear can be defeated if we who recognize the signs of the creeping fascism will speak out, and will support any group or organization which undertakes to arrest its progress. We must give encouragement to our professional organizations, such as the American Library Association and the Commission on the Defense of Democracy through Education of the NEA, and other organizations which have made courageous efforts to keep the avenues of communication open. We must insist that those organizations which have looked on with indifference and inaction while teachers and other professionals have been dismissed become aroused to the gravity of the times.

Just as fear is infectious, so courage is contagious. The timid soul finds strength to speak and act if he sees strength and courage in the eyes and the words of his colleagues, and discovers that he is not alone. At heart each man by himself is afraid. Joined with others in the defense of freedom, he will fight with courage and heroism. United action now, in a nation-wide counter-offensive against the demagogue and the inquisitor, can put the common enemy to rout.

* Dr. DeBoer is a member of the faculty of the College of Education, University of Illinois.

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The Physical Character of Large-Scale War

DR. PHILIP MORRISON *

It is not easy to write dispassionately of the nature of modern war, the more if one has seen its consequences. But it must be done if we are to know our problem. In such a calm appraisal, though, the reader must be careful to realize that the havoc and the terror are directed *necessarily* at the innocent. We have no techniques which kill only the evil, and not the good. The responsible leader and his innocent countrymen alike will feel the bombs. When we speak of targets and war plants, we mean also children, mothers, and the cultural fabric of the centuries. Henceforward we shall use the colorless speech of the military. We assume the disaster of a US-USSR conflict.

The problem has two clearly-divided parts: there is the war within the next few years, say before 1960, and the war of the next generation, say after 1975. Their physical character will be different, though not unrecognizably so. The early one would grow to resemble the later one as it continued.

A War of the Fifties

The first theater of any such war will be primarily Eastern Europe, the Middle East, southwestern USSR. A secondary theater might develop on the shores of the North China Sea and the waters of the North Pacific. Purely technical considerations seem to require that offensive war be waged by the US and her allies with bases in West Europe, and especially in the Middle East and North African coast. For the first years at least of any such war, the weapons will be those of the year 1945: the long-range subsonic bomber, the near-sonic jet fighter, the incendiary and atomic bomb, the submarine, the great mechanized armies. The attack of the atomic bomber against the cities of Europe and the western USSR will be the first sign of hostilities. These attacks will bring in a few days the effect of the months of bombardment of Germany in late 1944. They will be pressed with great losses to the attackers, for at the present time it seems certain that the long-range bomber is highly vulnerable to fighter attack. Millions will die in the cities, under blast, flame, and radiation. But it is sure that such an attack will not bring a decision. On the contrary, its impact is not enough to disrupt a large and dispersed industrial state; but it will certainly kindle the undying desire for a united revenge. The phase of bombing will pass as the bomb stockpile is depleted. Great armies will be deployed and battles waged over the whole theater of war, in a campaign to eliminate bomber bases within a couple of thousand miles of key USSR targets. The war will waste on for years, the two great states becoming indistinguishable from gigantic garrisons. All civilian life will disappear under the demand for absolute prosecution of war. The end is uncertain, but it is sure that no clear victory can be had by either side. Perhaps a truce of exhaustion would end the "preventive" war.

It is possible that the American homeland would escape serious attack for some years, but desperate suicide raids by air and by short-range rocket from submarine, and very probably by the first uses of epidemic disease would make the home front real.

Out of it all, exhaustion, attrition, cynicism, and the hopeless garrison on either side. And against those who began the war out of their own fear, unending hatred. Probably the growth of the power of the peoples of Asia would mark the next phase of history.

A War of the Seventies

By this time, supersonic guided missiles with atomic bombs

will be freely available. The use of epidemic and toxin will be widespread. The years not of war itself but simply of mutual frightened preparation will be grim. All civil life will be subordinate to the needs of the hungry machines of war, costly of material and labor on an unprecedented scale. The tension of the peoples will mount to unforeseeable heights. The actual onslaught will indeed resemble the apocalypses of fiction. Perhaps even the super-bomb, capable of blackening whole states, will have been made. From the first days, the death rate will be immense. Our own country will suffer just as freely as the other. Underground staffs and buried factories will know some physical security, but be caught in a mental pattern of grim and fearful anticipation. Around them large areas would become deserts, peopled by the dying. Production except of key weapons would fall very far, while the war burnt on in fits and starts, as new devices, new stocks, were put into play. Deaths of one in three of the whole population ought to be counted on. The war would end only in exhaustion; victory is a word almost not understood.

The civil structure of the nations would be put to a racking test. Would the population support the leaders who demanded that the war continue? Or would general disobedience make the need for peace known and effective? Here the simple physical effects become relatively unimportant; this kind of a war will be settled by the hard facts of political and social life. We cannot here predict the outcome.

It is clear that the danger of the war of the fifties is real, but the author does not believe it will come. It still takes two sides to fight. What is the greatest danger is that we allow the barriers to climb so high that the war of the seventies becomes unavoidable. That war will indeed be the decline of the west.

Edith Simester, faculty member at Scarritt College and missionary from China, writes following elections: "Will there be a change in Secretary of State? Is there a good man we could recommend who might have a chance? Would Sumner Welles be an improvement? I never knew why he was put out. I would like to recommend a new secretary in the same letter that I ask for a foreign policy that calls for entirely non-politically based aid to any nation that needs and desires it for reconstruction purposes." We think Edith Simester's is a timely proposal. Why don't we all write to the newly-elected President asking him for a new, civilian, progressive Secretary of State—able to develop and implement *that* kind of peace-making foreign policy? Let us know what you are doing on this.

Movie of the Month

Before Him All Rome Trembled. Roma Films. Starring Anna Magnani.

An Italian-made film, starring the magnetic Magnini, built around the opera, "Tosca." Between the opera sequences is woven a story of underground intrigue during the German occupation. The opera scenes are a bit long, but they are splendidly integrated with the story. The story itself is drama of a very high order. With English subtitles.

* Dr. Morrison is a Cornell University physicist. This article was delivered as an address at the recent "Pattern for Survival" conference in New York.

The Probable Effects of Another World War on the Health of the People

DR. ERNST BOAS *

Predictions are notoriously uncertain, and it would be hazardous to try to outline the effect of another war on the health of the people in any particular country. But enough experience has accumulated during the most recent war to enable us to foretell what would happen in many parts of the world. Probably the most important factor that will cause disease and increase mortality is undernutrition.

The recent war was marked by all degrees of undernutrition from the extremes seen in the concentration camps and in beleaguered cities such as Leningrad and Budapest to the chronic undernutrition observed in many occupied and warring countries which did not give rise to dramatic manifestations of disease, but which sapped the strength and working power of the population, and led to the increase of diseases such as rickets and tuberculosis. Undernutrition has indirect effects which lead to the crippling of the life of a nation and to the spread of disease. When the workers do not have an adequate diet their production lessens, the output of coal mines becomes insufficient; there is not enough fuel to keep the factories going, to light the homes and maintain public utilities. There is a breakdown of the transport system, and this leads to further maldistribution of such food as there is available. Housing shortages due to destruction and war time needs lead to overcrowding, lack of soap and utilities, and to increasing dirt and filth. There is insufficient heat and there is an inadequate supply of clothing to compensate in part for the exposure to cold.

All of these factors are interrelated and cumulative in their effects. The many lacks in supplies needed for everyday living are felt in the more restricted medical field. Hospitals are destroyed or occupied by the military. Medical supplies and personnel are wanting. The whole medical organization of a country may be rendered impotent.

When these multiple unfavorable factors are serious there is an increase in stillbirths and in premature births. Infants and children are small and underweight. There is a high infant morbidity and mortality. Diarrhea becomes one of the chief causes of death, due in part to the increased susceptibility of the infants, and in part to the breakdown in facilities for handling and processing milk. Rickets becomes widespread. When unfavorable conditions are not so extreme efficient government regulation may minimize these unfavorable influences on the child population.

Among the adult population the direct unfavorable effects of war on health may not be so immediately visible. There is decreased resistance to infections, and conditions favorable to the spread of epidemics easily arise. Much depends on how efficiently the public health personnel are able to continue their preventive efforts. Under extreme conditions such as existed during the siege of Leningrad there was much semi-starvation with full blown pictures of hunger edema, vitamin deficiencies such as scurvy and pellagra, loss of one third of body weight. Those persons were very susceptible to bronchopneumonia and dysenteries. Tuberculosis increases in frequency and becomes more fulminating. The development of anemia is the rule.

When a large area of a country is devastated, as happened for instance in Byelorussia, deaths from starvation and epidemics grow to vast proportions. Typhus fever, diphtheria, tuberculosis, malaria, dysentery flare up; there is a rapid upswing in venereal diseases. These are combatted with difficulty because of lack of public utilities, housing, food and medical facilities and medical personnel. When

finally the acute ravages of war are overcome the menace of tuberculosis remains for many years.

These consequences of war can be expected to be exaggerated in any future conflict. The destructiveness to life of the atom bomb, and the delayed effects of exposure to radiation are well known. Bacterial warfare may be expected to increase the shortages of food and to favor famine conditions.

The psychiatric consequences of world war are long lasting in their effects. The traumatic experiences of actual warfare, of famine and epidemics, of loss of parents, of home and of security, displacement from one's native country—these are insults from which children and adults do not readily recover, and which will affect the mental and emotional life of individuals, of nations and peoples for one or more generations.

Health and medical care are today so closely linked with the general life of a community and of a nation that they cannot readily be dealt with separately. In this industrial age health is so dependent on the complex community facilities for living, that when the community disintegrates, health deteriorates. Modern medicine has achieved miracles largely because of its great specialization, and because of the increasing organization of all sorts of facilities to promote health and medical care. War by destroying this beneficent structure, built up by medicine during the past generations, will allow many disease and disease states to get out of hand, and will recreate the unhealthful conditions that existed before the triumphs of scientific medicine.

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* This article was read as a paper by Dr. Boas at the "Pattern for Survival" conference held recently in New York.

reflection on the elections. I.

The 1948 elections are over. Once again the people have proven wrong the professional pollsters, pundits, politicians. The people disproved the claims that they were apathetic—that they would stay away from the polls, fail to exercise their responsibility as citizens on election day. The people agreed with Mr. Truman who repudiated (and disagreed with Mr. Dewey who commended) the reactionary “do-nothing” 80th Congress. They elected a new Congress (both House and Senate) with many new faces, virtually all of them more liberal. To indicate that it was for progress and against reaction that they were voting, they elected in numerous states new and more liberal governors—men like Chester Bowles in Connecticut, Lausche in Ohio, Stevenson in Illinois. They elected as President a man who had waged a hard-hitting, fighting election campaign for progress on the domestic front and against reaction—a man who, in his campaign, had condemned the “witch hunting” of the Un-American Committee, had condemned the attacks on labor, and called for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, had called for an anti-inflation program with teeth to oppose profiteering and bring down prices, for a doubled legal minimum wage—up to at least 75¢, for a comprehensive housing program, an expanded social security program including compulsory health insurance, for a tax program to serve the needy rather than the greedy, for curbs on the growth of monopolies, for Federal aid to education; for a civil rights program directed against such evils as lynching, poll tax, discrimination in employment and in the armed services, segregation in interstate travel. The people elected a man who thus spoke out for these important domestic gains.

They refused to elect a man who defended Taft-Hartley, defended the Un-American Committee and chose to remain silent and ambiguous on most of the other specific issues. The mandate of the people on these specific issues is clear. In Pennsylvania they defeated Republican Representative McDowell who has served as acting chairman of the Un-American Committee. In New Jersey (which went Republican) they reelected J. Parnell Thomas, but by a considerably narrower margin than previously. The people want red meat, not red hunts, civil rights, not witch burnings; more democracy not less; social and economic progress, not reaction. They have rejected another postwar “return to normalcy.” They do not want to go backward but forward. In the terminology common in contemporary Europe, they want America to move to the left, not right. Apparently, the people liked the increasingly progressive, even radical and leftist, tone of Mr. Truman’s campaign oratory. They like his campaign promises—the specific domestic program he pledged to carry out. They elected him with a clear mandate to translate his promises into deeds and gave him a radically altered and new Congress with which to do so. It will no longer be possible for either the President or new Congress to coast on promises of campaign oratory. The campaign is over now, and the time for fulfillment has come. No longer will he and they be known by their campaign speeches or promises. Henceforth they (the President and Congress) must be tested or known by their fruits—that is, by their deeds and results. The same is true of the Democratic party, which the people have put in control not only of the presidency, but of both branches of Congress—by impressively decisive vote. Mr. Truman has claimed that the Democratic party can be the progressive party, the party of the people, the party which serves their interest and which will serve as a channel for enacting the civil rights and socio-economic reform program he promised in his campaign. Mr. Truman contrasted his party with the Republican party which he described as the party of Wall Street, of the big corporations and monopoly,

of the “gluttons of privilege.” The people seemed to accept his estimate of the Republican party and it might even be that this election marks the beginning of its permanent decline. The people also seemed to accept his favorable estimate of the Democratic party. Well, now is the time for Mr. Truman and his Democratic Congress to prove the validity of that favorable estimate of the Democratic party. If it can be done at all, the best opportunity and the clearest mandate to do so is at hand. Like the Democratic President and Congress, the Democratic party is now on trial. If it fails this time to meet the test, if it fails to carry out the progressive democratic program the people need and demand, if it proves itself unable or unwilling to actually enact a program of civil rights, of social and economic reform, and of democratic advance for which the people have voted so clearly—then its present blaze of glory may be its last. In that event, it could be that in 1952 (or sooner) the people might turn away from the Democratic, as well as the Republican, parties towards a new and more adequate instrument for meeting the need of the people in our day.

The items of domestic program which the president-elect promised in his campaign and for which the people voted are and have been items on the program of the Methodist Federation. The program will not be enacted automatically and merely because it was voted at the polls. We who want that program (housing, health, social security, revised minimum wage, Taft-Hartley repeal, price control, red meat instead of red-hunts, civil rights in all aspects) must continue to work for it and demand it. Having voted it at the polls is not enough. We must hold our President and our Congress to their promises. The people, not finance, must be the master.

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REV. ALSON J. SMITH, *Editor*

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But what about foreign policy, what about peace? The President did not campaign on foreign policy, but on domestic issues. When he attacked the 80th Congress it was for opposing his program on domestic issues, not for opposing his program on foreign policy. The reactionaries of the 80th Congress like our foreign policy. Reactionaries in general like it. The foreign policy of the United States, which Mr. Truman and the Republican Congress have been united in serving, has not moved the world in the leftward direction for which the people voted on domestic issues. This direction has been that of Reaction, not Progress. It has allied us with dictators, outmoded kings, feudal landlords, grafters and exploiters, rulers of colonial empires, proto-fascists—in Greece, Turkey, China, the colonial world. It has pulled and tempted us towards alliance with the Vatican and with outright fascism in Spain. It has fostered misery and civil war, resisted with unexpected power by exploited common people. It has brought the entire world not towards reconstruction and peace, but towards the increasing threat of atomic holocaust.

Did the American people vote on November 2 for a continuation of this reactionary foreign policy? No, by and large they voted neither for its continuation nor for its reversal. They were not voting on foreign policy on which the two candidates who might be elected were united, but on the domestic issues which separated Mr. Truman from Mr. Dewey. It was around these domestic issues that Mr. Truman's campaign had been waged. It is likely that the people simply accepted Mr. Truman's promises of peace. It may be, as Walter Lippmann suggests, that the people were favorably impressed by Mr. Truman's ideas of sending a representative (Justice Vinson) to the Soviet Union and to Stalin in the interest of negotiating peace—a plan which was publicized in the midst of the election and which Mr. Truman defended in his speech before the American Legion. Mr. Lippmann writes, "In retrospect I think it might now be said that though the Vinson affair was incredibly inept, nevertheless it proved to be a net gain for Truman. I think he gained strength, and reunited many discontented Democrats, by showing that he shared their dissatisfaction with the way things were being handled in the State Department and the Pentagon. That this dissatisfaction is much more general than prevailing opinion had supposed is indicated not only by Mr. Truman's rebellion in the Vinson affair and on Palestine, but also by the general tone of Governor Dewey's campaign. . . . Both Truman and Dewey, as they made contact with the mass of the people, became aware that the professional diplomats and soldiers who have been dominant in policy were going too fast and too far, were overplaying their hands, and that somehow it has been necessary to reassert the supremacy of the civilian and popular control of the conduct of foreign policy."

All of this would be quite encouraging if true; but by and large it seems clear to me that the people were voting almost exclusively on domestic issues, and not on specific matters of foreign policy. In general they seemed to have willed, and voted for, progress and social welfare, against reaction and surely then against war.

It is time (and growing late) for the American people who voted for progress in November to concern themselves with our foreign policy, the increasingly manifest results of which are the opposite of the progress which we seek. The people should concern themselves with this foreign policy and with the increasing militarization of America to which it has led. It is time for the people to take and make that policy over—to make it an instrument for the kind of social progress and democratic advance we and common people everywhere demand. We cannot have any of the things we want if we move into atomic war. We have voted to invest needed hundreds of millions here at home for better schools, hospitals and medical care, for social security, valley authorities, peacetime needs and service. But how can we do this, short of utter bankruptcy, if at the same time we pour billions of wasted dollars

down rat holes in lands like Greece and China for outmoded reactionary regimes which the people do not and never will tolerate—and additional billions for excessive armaments here and in Latin America and in western Europe and elsewhere, and for the draft and Universal Military Training.

We cannot get progress for ourselves if we spend our energies and resources across the face of the earth denying it to our brothers and sisters. Here lies the great unanswered question in the post-election period. Ultimately most other questions and their answers will revolve around it. Will this be a period in which we continue to move ourselves and others down the road towards reaction, war and fascism? Or will the progressive mandate of the elections lead to a closer analysis, and thus to a sharp redirection, of our foreign policy—so that it will become dedicated to service rather than domination, to cooperation rather than cold war, to social progress and reform for which the peoples everywhere yearn and which are the prerequisites for lasting peace? May it be our lot in the Methodist Federation for Social Action to give prophetic answer to this, the greatest unanswered question in the post-election period—and that on which so many other questions and answers depend!

JACK R. McMICAL

reflection on the elections. II.

Many Federationists will wonder at the small size of the Wallace vote. Wallace himself had estimated his total vote at about 10,000,000 at the time of the Philadelphia convention of the new Progressive Party last July, and the pollsters had thought that he was at least half right and would get somewhere in the neighborhood of 5,000,000. Actually, he appears to have received a vote of about 1,200,000.

One reason for the low Wallace vote is the Truman campaign. If Wallace did nothing else, he forced a New Deal campaign on Truman. Truman had to go to the Left to retrieve his strength—there was nowhere else for him to go. And he went. His battering of the 80th Congress and Wall Street, and the will for peace which he expressed in the abortive move to send Justice Vinson to Moscow undoubtedly drew hundreds of thousands of votes away from Wallace. It now remains to be seen whether or not the President's conversion to the New Deal gospel was real and permanent or was merely a smart political trick. As these words are written, Sen. McGrath, National Chairman of the Democratic Party, has already put a light in the window for the Dixiecrats while sternly condemning Wallace to the outer darkness. This represents the real feeling of the big city political machines for which McGrath is spokesman, but the President himself has not yet spoken. We will see.

Another reason for the Wallace debacle, as Jim Farley said in an election night television broadcast, may be that the Philadelphia convention of the Progressive Party scared the daylights out of a lot of people who heard it over the radio and saw it via television. The editor was an observer at that convention and was not at all scared, but he can see where a lot of people might have been reminded of Nazi and Communist Youth rallies by the marvelous organization, careful staging, and general theatricals of the convention. The delegates were young and aggressive. They sang militant songs. They obviously had a dedication, a sense of purpose and destiny, that the delegates to the Republican and Democratic conventions did not have. But the American people, while tolerant of general nonsense (like Taft's baby elephant) at their political conventions, are made uneasy by youth and militancy. The editor thought then and still thinks that the Wallace movement would have been better served by a more quiet and dignified type of convention, and less of the Madison Square Garden atmosphere.

(Continued on page 143)

Behind the Headlines

By the time these words are in print their readers will know whether it is the trend toward war or the prospect for peace that has been strengthened by the election. The reaction of public opinion should by then have shown whether the cold war planners who moved at once to start the rearming of Western Europe by executive and military orders were right in deciding that they had been given a green light. The President who promised he would continue to work for peace will have made clear by his continuance or change of advisers whether he is to be the man who decided to send Vinson to Moscow or the veteran bewildered by the American Legion fallacy who let himself be led into the Truman doctrine and the cold war. The neutrals in the U.N. who have recently checked the belligerence of our delegation should have indicated whether they have sufficient awareness of where the cold war is leading them, and enough strength to compel the halt that will give the anti-war forces here time to mobilize their full strength. It may even be that at one of the points of greatest danger—Germany, China, Greece—a decision has been made, an action taken, that marks the place on the road to war from which there is no turning back.

It is at these points that the cold war is preventing the agreements between the U.S. and the USSR which are necessary for peace from being arrived at. At all of them the cold war is farther from its announced objectives than when it started. At any one of them the explosive forces its planners are handling may any day get beyond their control. These possible and actual consequences are quite independent of the fact that some of the architects and administrators of the cold war are "Christian gentlemen."

In the German situation the issue is between discussion and negotiation with the necessary give and take or unilateral actions and ultimatums, followed by U.N. votes supposed to express world judgment but actually recording the need for dollar credits more than the search for truth and justice. Consider the record! Under pressure of public demand, with an election approaching, we went to Moscow. Agreement was reached in principle and directives issued to military governors to work out. They failed to agree, each side blaming the other. The normal procedure would be to refer the differences back to the principals for further discussion. Instead we took the matter to the U.N. relying upon our controlled majority to uphold both the doubtful legality of such action and our side of the dispute. Seeing the danger both to the U.N. and to peace some neutrals said, "Which do you want, settlement of the dispute or indictment of the Russians?" and sought to mediate a compromise procedure. Vishinsky offered a proposal. Chairman Bramuglia of Argentina, suggested modifications. Vishinsky accepted as a basis for discussion. The neutrals approved submitting the proposal to the Big Three and Stalin was evidently led to think that an agreement had been reached. Accounts differ on what happened from then on. France evidently was willing to discuss. From our side comes word that the proposal was worth considering but that Great Britain refused. French reports say both G.B. and U.S. refused.

Back of this refusal of, or failure to use, an opportunity is the project of a separate government for Western Germany. One of our spokesmen has just said that we are going to stay there until it is established and able to defend itself. According to Johannes Steel one of the parts of the Moscow discussions the Western powers declined to make public was that when Ambassador Smith objected to Molotov's proposal that we consider postponing the separate government until after a Four Power conference, Stalin said if that was an obstacle to agreement on Berlin

they would withdraw it. Steel adds it was this action that led Truman to plan the Vinson mission to see if goodwill might win where cold war diplomacy had failed.

A separate German government is still the crux of the situation. Like a separate currency it is economic insanity. Already it moves toward recartelization under American control, and the restoration of a German army under ex-Nazi leadership, with the counterpoise a police army in Eastern Germany under Communist leadership. Whichever is cause and which effect, or if each is something of both, the result will be that the political struggle between Communism and social democracy is forced into civil war. And who can keep that civil war from merging into the great conflict? If that happens history will record against us that we have never presented a concrete plan for the unification of Germany.

In the Chinese situation the issue is more aid to Chiang Kai Shek and the consequences of such a policy. The Dewey promise is out; but the Luce-Morgan group program is not out. The Foreign Policy Watchdog Committee of the recently despised and rejected Congress sent Bullitt, one of the most rabid advocates of war against the Soviet Union and Communists, to China to "investigate" the need for more aid. Will the new Congress cancel that appointment? Ex-Mayor Lapham of San Francisco, head of ECA for China, comes back to press for maximum aid to Chiang Kai Shek because Communism must be defeated. At the same time the Manchurian defeat gives the Reds more military supplies than the last \$125,000,000 Congress authorized, to say nothing of the Nationalist armies that changed sides. Then the Nationalists admit the complete failure of their attempt to control inflation. Hoffman, head of ECA, is reported as saying we must help North China to be held at any cost. Will Truman and Congress agree? If they do, the Chinese peasants will still have the last word.

Last Spring Mao Tse Tung told the world the people's revolutionary movement had ended the long years of defense, would soon have North China, and would not stop until it had liberated the whole land. By the testimony of unbiased journalists and missionaries the advance has been accompanied by a moderation of the economic program and the attitude toward religion, by the stopping of local excesses and the winning over of small landlords and business men. No amount of aid to the Nationalist government can now stop this movement.

Once we could have had the coalition government we said we wanted had we stood firm for it. Now the only coalition government that can possibly work is one composed of all democratic forces, including what is left alive of the suppressed Kuomintang left wing. The only alternative is full scale armed intervention, using a rearmed Japan. Australia, and New Zealand will have something to say about that. And still the last word will be with the Chinese peasants. And while they are saying it in their patient, tireless way, what will be happening in Europe? What the strategists of the global war have never figured out is that there are not enough anti-democratic forces left in the world to supply the armies needed to stop the upward march of the common peoples of Europe and Asia. And are the people of the United States so easily deceived, or so callous, that they can be led into that infamy?

The choice is clear and the time is short. Either we let the common people of China now master their own destiny in their own way or we waste our substance and our democratic heritage, destroy an unmeasurable section of our youth and our moral standing in history, by vainly trying to stop them.

The Greek situation presents a similar alternative. The

summer offensive, directed by one of our best combat generals, that was to end the civil war, has ended in failure. Our military authorities give the Provisional Democratic Government forces 2,200 to 2,500 men as compared with 1,500, to 1,800 a year ago. They hold two thirds of the mountain area and have moved into the Peloponessus where they can see Athens. American and British journalists report corresponding gains in control of villages and towns with more accessions from the center. The economic situation is out of control—inflation rising, drachma falling, black market growing, corruption increased by access to our funds. Since we came, the government we support has abolished civil rights for all sections of the people, has had to imprison hundreds of its own officers and soldiers, has decreed the death penalty for strikes, and according to official figures has executed political opponents at the average rate of 75 a month. Protests against mass executions have gone from various nations, some governments and the U.N. Balkan Committee. Yesterday the U.N. officially requested suspension of execution for 10 union seamen sentenced to be shot today.

Our military aid began with about two score strategists and technicians; the latest figures are 500. As failure to achieve objectives mounts so do the voices there and here requesting and suggesting that we now fight the war instead of just directing it. Last February Truman said, "If the guerrilla menace should increase as a result of greater outside assistance, a new situation would be created which would have to be dealt with in the light of the circumstances prevailing at that time." Two days later, Loy Henderson, State Department Director of Near East Affairs, declared: "A situation may be created with which Greek armed forces alone would not be expected to cope." One week later *U.S. News* reported: "From Washington comes a hint that if the Greek Army cannot handle the Greek Communists perhaps the U.S. Army can. Explanation to the American public is that Greek's Communist neighbors are intervening, increasing the menace." Last week John Foster Dulles rose in the U.N. to argue that the failure of our Greek program is due to assistance to the Greek Communists from her Communist neighbors and to the worldwide Soviet-Communist program of violent revolution. The hour of decision is at hand.

Dulles was moving approval of the report of the Balkan investigating committees and its continuance. He did not convince all his non-Communist listeners. The Australian, Colonel Hodgson, reminded him that only one side had been heard. He might have added that Great Britain and the U.S. have never allowed the U.N. to consider the composition of the Free Greek forces and provisional government, how the civil war started, by whom and why, and why we took over the British role in Greece. Hodgson said his delegation abstained on the political conclusions of the report. He proposed that the committee drop investigation and concentrate on conciliation, and to that end moved for a mediating committee of neutrals. Those suggested are willing to serve and the Provisional Democratic Government has announced acceptance of the proposal. It had previously declared it would never be conquered. The policy for which Dulles has now become the spokesman therefore requires a war of extermination. Is this what the American people want?

There is another alternative. Last December the Democratic army offered to cease operations if the U.S. would assist in forming a government representative of all parties. We refused. Last June, after the Spring offensive had failed the Provisional Government of Free Greece announced it would respond favorably to any move for the restoration of peace. It asked only guarantees that "democracy would be restored, national sovereignty respected and foreign intervention ended." After the Dulles speech at Paris, Col. Alexander H. Sheppard of Australia, formerly a member of the British Mission in Greece, announced to a Press Conference that he was authorized by the Provisional Govern-

ment's Minister of Justice, who had been refused a hearing at the U.N., to make these proposals for peace: 1. A coalition government. 2. Withdrawal of all foreign missions. 3. Free elections after six months of peace, inspected by the U.N. 4. Restoration of trade union rights. 5. Freedom for all political prisoners.

These proposals are plainly in line with the principles we profess. The choice is between war to a finish and something of this general nature. Which do we want our delegates, especially the two churchmen, Dulles and Austin, to support?

H. F. W.

In Your Paper?

Hanson W. Baldwin, Military Analyst of the *N. Y. Times*, writes: "The real answer to the Berlin impasse is not to be found in shows of force but rather in the slow workings of diplomatic negotiations. We must concede, as well as expect concessions, for in Berlin we are in an indefensible strategic position, as well as in an uncertain political position."

In three weeks in England and Scotland Rev. Cameron P. Hall, executive secretary of the Federal Council's Department of the Church and Economic Life, asked many groups and leaders of both clergy and laity this question among others: "Is what we in the United States call private enterprise, or what you called capitalism before the last war, a living possibility in Great Britain, within the foreseeable future?" Without a single exception the answer was an unequivocal "No."

In his recent report to the President, Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, says: "Each year over 300,000 people die whom we have the knowledge and skills to save."

Concerning the source of the trouble in Singapore the *British New Statesman and Nation* writes: "In the revised Constitution, the interests of the Chinese, who form nearly half of the population, were neglected. . . . Having formed trade unions, we find that like other trade unions, they are apt to strike for better pay, when they do so and disorders break out, we shoot them."

In the *China Weekly Review* of Aug. 21, a writer describes a trip he took in the Honan Area and tells the story of the bombing by Chiang's Air Force of a relief center managed by the American Friends' Service Unit. They had spread out an officially endorsed air defense insignia. But three were killed, six seriously wounded and all their tractors damaged.

Reinhold Niebuhr, in the *Nation*, reports "something new in the history of Christianity. This something new is not exactly Christian communism but a form of Christianity tremendously sympathetic to communism. . . . After attending three ecumenical conferences in the past year I have come to the conclusion that even if there were no other evidence available the attitude of Christians in Africa and Asia would prove that the greatest triumphs of communism will be achieved in the non-European world."

A professor in China writes to *The Witness* (Episcopalian): "I am convinced that if American Christians were to give moral support to the so-called 'Communists,' that is to the people of China who are fighting their 'American Revolutionary War,' they would: (a) ensure the continuance of the Christian movement in China; (b) prevent a war with Russia; (c) improve conditions for U.S. business in China and the Far East; (d) ensure the democratic stabilization of China, Korea, Japan and the Far East; (e) immeasurably improve relations between China and the United States."

Executive Secretary's Report

RECENT FIELD ENGAGEMENTS

September 21: Paterson, New Jersey, First Methodist Church, parish-wide meeting of Methodists. Evening address on "The Church and Social Action" followed by a question period, with keen interest shown.

September 27: Supper meeting with Chicago MFSA members, discussion regarding plans for Annual Meeting.

September 28: Missouri Annual Conference, St. Joseph, Missouri. Introduced to the Conference by Bishop Holt. Luncheon meeting of all interested, in which Missouri Conference MFSA chapter was organized for the first time with a strong set of officers including as President, Rev. W. E. Longstreth. The standards proposed by Executive Committee for a Conference chapter were immediately accepted as the chapter's first goal. Action was taken for reversal of U. S. policy on the United Nations Appeal for Children, so that the General Assembly would reverse the action taken (with decisive American support) at Geneva by the Economic and Social Council killing the Appeal, to the effect that the Appeal will be continued at this time of continued acute need and suffering among the children of the world.

September 29: Kansas Annual Conference, Emporia. Breakfast meeting of Kansas MFSA chapter, supplemented by a statement before Conference concerning MFSA aims and program, after introduction by Bishop Dawson, new bishop of this area. The Kansas Conference unanimously took action calling for reversal of U.S. policy vis a vis the United Nations Appeal for Children, on the proposal of our Kansas MFSA chapter. At the breakfast meeting new memberships were secured, and for the first time the chapter accepted as an immediate goal the Conference chapter standards (at least 100 paid-up voting members, at least two meetings yearly with concrete social action, etc.).

October 3: Address at Germantown Methodist Church, Philadelphia, forum on the assigned topic, "Christianity, Capitalism and Communism." The house was packed, and there was manifestation of keen interest and searching minds.

October 8-10: Conducted the Commission on the Church and Social Issues at the annual meeting of the New York Student Christian Movement, held at Syracuse University.

October 13: Addressed Bucknell University Chapel on "The Things That Make for Peace," with an excellent response followed by an informal discussion with student Christian leaders on the campus.

October 15: St. Louis Annual Conference, introduced to the Conference by Bishop Holt. This was followed by a called chapter-organizing meeting, which was purposely interracial, and was held in the host church of the white annual conference. The chapter was organized on an interracial basis, with the following officers elected: President, Dr. Eugene Seubert; Vice-president, Dr. L. L. Haynes; Secretary-treasurer, Rev. Elbert Cole. The standards were accepted as an immediate goal, and action was taken on behalf of the United Nations Appeal for Children. New memberships were secured, and an intensive and large membership recruiting drive was pledged.

October 17: University of Ohio Wesley Foundation address at Vesper Service followed by a stimulating discussion of several hours with university students.

This recent period has also been busy with meetings of the Administrative Committee and Annual Meeting Planning Committees, and with the Executive Committee meeting of October 29, report of which will be found elsewhere in this issue.

J. R. M.

Executive Committee Minutes

OCTOBER 29, 1948

Lawson Street YMCA, Chicago, 9:30-3:30

Present: Bishop R. N. Brooks, chairman; Bishop James C. Baker, Albert E. Barnett, Harold Burns, Sam Beers, Gilbert Cox, T. B. Echols, E. J. Fricke, Corliss P. Hargraves, Ann F. Klein, Clyde Miller, Mrs. Ella Mulkey, Alson Smith, Willard Uphaus, Jack McMichael (ex officio).

Opening devotional period by Corliss P. Hargraves.

Minutes were read and a report given of the MFSA meeting, May 8, 1948 in Boston following General Conference.

Report was made of the preliminary committee meeting of MFSA members, held in Chicago, October 28, 1948. Three items considered in this report were:

1. There should be a committee appointed to consider formulating a series of guiding principles for the Federation.
2. Editorials should be signed in the *Bulletin* and the editor of the *Bulletin* discuss the pending issue of the *Bulletin* with the Administrative Committee.
3. Suggestions be discussed for ways of providing travel expenses to the Executive Committee meetings.

There followed a two hour discussion centering around the above points. (An attempt will be made to group comments under these headings whether they were made in this sequence or not.)

(1) The following comments were made with no action taken concerning the need for the formulation of guiding principles for the Federation.

Boston Federation meeting and comments from other Federation members across the country show that certain Methodist leaders are concerned for different reasons about the Federation. The following comment was made on the Communist charge against the Federation. . . . The Federation, because it is Christian *does* agree with certain Communist stands. There is a parallelism between Communism and Christianity along racial and other lines.

The committee that is to be appointed to draw up guiding principles should be carefully chosen. Before deciding on the principles, the committee should consider the principles now being followed by MFSA and consult other organizations that formulate action programs (i.e.) the Religion and Labor Foundation and the Christian Social Relations Department of the WDCCS.

Two further suggestions concerning the guiding principles were: to sharpen the issues for which the Federation stands and to attempt first to build a unity among Federation members through areas on which all liberal minds can operate together (I.E.) migrants, local government.

(2) Comments concerning the *Bulletin*.

Whether the editorials are signed or not they are always in line with policy which the Federation has passed. History shows that through the years the *Bulletin* has been issued, there have been many attacks. It was thought that consultation with the Administrative Committee would prove valuable, not to censor material going into the *Bulletin*, but to have the value of more than one person's opinion. The members of the Administrative Committee, however, are too busy to be asked to read proof, but the general plans of the publication could be presented to this committee. The Editor agreed to have editorials signed.

October, 1947 Federation membership.....	3,944
" 1948 " "	5,571

Motion Passed

That: We accept the recommendation of the preliminary committee that the chair appoint a committee to work

together to formulate certain guiding principles for the Federation that will be continually revised.

Discussion of Annual Meeting:

Place: William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa

Dates: December 28-30, 1948

Fee: \$3 a day

Theme: "Religion and Science Allied for Peace and Freedom"

Some of the speakers who have accepted invitations are: Bishop Brooks, Mrs. Welthy Fisher, Dr. Frederick Schuman, Dr. J. B. Thompson, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Rev. Edgar Wahlberg.

Meeting adjourned for lunch at 12:30.

There was a discussion as to how the Soviet-American Relations question would be presented at the annual meeting.

Motion Passed

That:

(1) Dr. H. F. Ward be invited to speak on Civil Liberties.

(2) A panel (question and answer period) be held (all-conference session) on Soviet-American relations with Dr. Frederick Schuman as chairman.

(3) A commission on Soviet-American relations be arranged which would attempt to bring in a program of education.

Motion Passed

That: Rev. Edgar Wahlberg lead the Commission on Europe, and that Dr. Carl Soule lead the Commission on Soviet-American Relations.

Motion Passed

That: The opening worship service be led by Bishop Dawson from Kansas, and in the event that he could not attend the meeting that Dr. Corliss Hargraves be asked to lead.

Motion Passed

That: Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard University and Dr. Ira Reid be asked to speak on Segregation. It was agreed that an outstanding scientist should be secured, if possible.

Motion Passed

That: The report of the Planning Committee for the annual meeting be accepted with the above revisions.

There was a discussion on holding Federation Conferences on a Regional Basis, and the following motion was passed.

That: The proposal of meetings on a regional basis including youth membership and work camps for youth be referred to the Executive Committee which is to meet just prior to the annual meeting.

There was discussion of the column from Washington syndicated and printed in Methodist publications (*Advocates*). Particular attention was given to the article idealizing the leaders of the Dixiecrat movement rooted in racial prejudice and seeking to deny equal rights to Negroes. Concern was unanimous. The Administrative Committee was asked to seek to rectify the situation.

The Executive Secretary gave a brief account of three cases that have been violations of Academic Freedom and the following motion was passed.

That: This Executive Committee meeting go on record as objecting to violation to Academic Freedom in the following cases:

(1) Dr. Clyde Miller, Columbia University Teachers College, New York.

(2) Dr. Clarence Athearn, Lyecoming College, Williamsport, Pa.

(3) Dr. George Parker, Evansville College, Evansville, Ind.

And that a committee be appointed of three people to investigate these three cases and to report at the annual meeting what the Federation can do to better these situations.

(1) Miller, person named by the Administrative Committee in N. Y.

(2) Athearn, Willard Uphaus

(3) Parker, Merrill McFall

The following motions were passed:

That: The Executive Secretary be asked to express concern to the State Department about the denial of the visa for the Dean of Canterbury to come to this country and to state that the final action granting the visa was approved.

That: The action of the Administrative Committee in objecting to the ban on *The Nation* be approved.

That: The Federation office seek facts concerning the omission of certain General Conference Resolutions from the 1948 *Discipline*.

That: The resolution supporting the Cooperative Movement that was presented to the Executive Committee be approved. (Text of resolution elsewhere in *Bulletin*.)

That: The Administrative Committee be asked to appoint two committees:

(1) Nominating Committee

(2) Literature Committee

Also that the Administrative Committee be asked to seek ways of expanding MFSA income, so an item for Executive Committee travel aid (where necessary) might be included in the budget.

That: Bishop Watkins' resignation as one of the vice-presidents of the Federation be accepted with regret.

That: The following persons be asked to become members of the Executive Committee:

(1) Bishop Gerald Kennedy

(2) Dr. Edgar Wahlberg

(3) Mr. Eugene Seubert

(4) Dr. T. B. Echols

The next meeting of the committee, Oskaloosa, Iowa, December 28, A.M.

Meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

ANN FITZPATRICK KLEIN

Secretary pro tem

Resolution on Cooperatives

Adopted by MFSA Executive Committee,
October 29, 1948

All classes of people have used cooperatives to help themselves. Their usefulness and legitimacy in our economy have been demonstrated. In this country farmers' cooperatives are the most numerous and most active. For this reason they have borne the brunt of recent unjustifiable attacks. Farmers and others, including many industrial and mercantile businesses, have not set up cooperatives to avoid income tax, as has been charged, but to secure goods or services at prices they can afford to pay. In many instances this has served as an important curb upon monopolistic practices. In a free enterprise system everyone should have the privilege to choose the kind of business device they wish to use as long as it works no undeserved hardship upon others and is within the letter and spirit of the law.

THEREFORE, Be it resolved that we support the further development of cooperatives and defend them against adverse propaganda and pretended legal encroachment.

A newly-married man admitted, "I'm in a quandary as to what I should call my wife's mother. I don't like to call her 'mother-in-law' because of all the comic-strip jokes, and somehow there is a certain sacredness about the word 'mother' that makes me hesitate to apply it to any but my own."

"I've never had any problem about that," his friend replied. "The first year we were married I addressed my wife's mother as 'say,' and after that we called her 'Grandma.'"

—Woodmen of the World Magazine

Social Issues in Today's World

The General Welfare

AMONG THE 128 MEMBERS of Prof. Ralph Barton Perry's Committee to welcome Dean of Canterbury, the Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, to this country are the following Methodists:

Prof. Erwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College; Dr. Georgia Harkness, Garrett Biblical Institute; Dr. John R. Mott, International YMCA; Prof. George A. Coe, Professor Emeritus of Columbia University; Dr. Wade C. Barclay, Board of Missions; Dr. Albert E. Barnett, Garrett Biblical Institute; Bishop Charles Brashares, Iowa Area; Dr. Kenneth I. Brown, Denison University; Rev. T. T. Brumbaugh, Board of Missions; Rev. Emory Stevens Bucke, Editor, Zion's Herald; Dr. Mark Dawber, Home Missions Council; Rev. Chester E. Hodgson, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Halford E. Lucecock, Yale Divinity School; Bishop Francis J. McConnell (retired); Dean Walter G. Muelder, Boston University. Other names are being added.

AT A LUNCHEON MEETING of the Health Education Section, American Public Health Association, at the Hotel Statler, Boston, on Nov. 9, Donald B. Armstrong, M.D., of New York City, received the fifth Elizabeth S. Prentiss National Award in Health Education, given annually since 1944 for the outstanding achievement in the Health Education field.

International Relations

THE AMERICAN WEEKLY, U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT in its Sept. 10 issue, published what it called a memorandum by Thomas F. Hawkins, the magazine's regional editor stationed in Germany. Mr. Hawkins titled his memorandum, "U.S. Blunders in Berlin—An Inside Story." Among other things, Mr. Hawkins told his readers that "Perhaps we shall know how to occupy Germany after another war. We certainly have made a mess of it this time."

Mr. Hawkins continues: "We have not yet conclusively won Germans to our side. Our relations with Russia are worse than ever. We must accept a good share of the blame for failure to follow through with a firm, clear, and practicable policy. We have failed in Germany to establish anything approaching democracy."

PALAIS DE CHAILLOT, PARIS.—How seriously the smaller member states of the United Nations take their role has been amply shown by the current sessions. Off the floor, some of the delegates are outspoken about the danger to world peace in a continuing power drive by the world's great countries.

Philippine chief spokesman Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo, who has been termed by fellow diplomats the "common sense delegate," sounded an anxious plea to this correspondent. "The United Nations is on trial for its life," he declared, "and it can survive only if the member states, through good will, understanding and determination, remove it from power politics."

"It is up to the small and middle-sized nations," General Romulo explained, "to organize themselves and together assume the moral authority the U.N. is supposed to have, but which at present power politics does not permit it to exercise."

The Cooperative Movement

ONE OF THE NATION'S MOST POWERFUL RADIO STATIONS, WHO, Des Moines, began carrying a three-day a week noon-hour program, co-op sponsored, on November 8.

The program, The March of Agriculture, features the state's most widely-known radio personality, WHO's Farm Service Director Herb Plambeck. He is heard under CCA sponsorship Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 12:15 o'clock.

This time is immediately following the station's market-cast at 12 P.M. and precedes its newscast at 12:30. It is thus premium time and will reach a maximum of co-op members with messages about co-op products and ideas.

WHO is heard at 1040 on the dial. It has 50,000 watts power and blankets not only most of Iowa but much of northern Missouri.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH COOPERATIVES are an accepted, unquestioned part of the economic landscape in Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Holland and other European countries was one of the sharpest impressions brought home by two midwesterners—Clifford Miller, Brewster, Kan., and Dwight D. Townsend, Kansas City, Mo.—from their first trip abroad.

The cooperatives in Europe are respected for their influence, maturity and leadership; they face opposition, but it is opposition that regards them as permanent competitors rather than, as in this country, seeking to liquidate them, the travelers said.

With Howard A. Cowden, president of Consumers Cooperative Association, Kansas City, Mo., and L. R. Marchant, manager of the International Cooperative Petroleum Association, New York, Miller and Townsend went to Europe as delegates to the 17th congress of the International Cooperative Alliance at Prague, Czechoslovakia. Miller, manager of Farmers Cooperative Association at Brewster, is secretary of CCA. Townsend heads CCA's management division.

Labor Concern

HERE IS THE POST-ELECTION VICTORY statement issued Nov. 3 by Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action Committee:

We of the CIO Political Action Committee share in the pleasure and pride of the American people at the outcome of this election.

The people of the country have demonstrated their genuine unity in rejecting the attempt to wrest control of the government from them. They have also demonstrated that they were clearly able to recognize the allies of reaction whether they wore the label of the Republican party, the Dixiecrats or the so-called Progressive Party.

The CIO-PAC is happy to have participated in this tremendous victory and to have stood shoulder to shoulder with the farmers, small business men, and white collar and professional workers who stood up and were counted for the New Deal. The battles that we fought in 1944 and 1946 gave us the know-how and the organization which were so valuable in 1948. As early as January of last year the CIO executive board and President Philip Murray demonstrated their wisdom in rejecting the ill-fated third party venture.

We had fighting champions in Harry Truman and Alben Barkley and the New Deal candidates for the House and Senate and we gave them our fighting support.

The American people have delivered a genuine mandate to translate into law as soon as possible the pledges of the Democratic platform. The American people have, with an unmistakable voice, affirmed their desire for a control of inflation, decent housing, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, strengthening of our civil liberties and the other needs which the Democratic platform promises to fulfill.

We will continue to fight always for the candidates who fight for the people.

Federation Activities and Reports

THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST CHAPTER issued a tabulation of the votes of Washington's state legislators on vital issues to its members just before the Nov. 2 election. The chapter also got out an open letter enlisting support for opposition to peace-time conscription, the first signature on the letter being that of Bishop Gerald H. Kennedy.

This active chapter, through its secretary, George Poor, also reports that the Western Jurisdictional Banquet of the Methodist Federation for Social Action was a great success. The banquet was held in honor of Bishops Baker and McConnell and many who sought admission were turned away as the banquet hall had seating for only 125. The Rev. Dillon Throckmorton of Modesto, Cal., was toastmaster. Bishops-Elect Glenn Phillips and Donald Tippet were among those present.

THE ALABAMA CONFERENCE CHAPTER was addressed recently by the Alabama State Attorney General, Albert Carmichael. In an address which was featured on the front pages of Montgomery, Ala., newspapers, the Attorney General flayed the "States Rights" Democrats, better known as Dixiecrats and denounced the Ku Klux Klan as a "bloody wart on the body of our social structure."

The meeting was held in the Dexter Avenue Methodist Church, Montgomery, of which the Rev. Andrew Turnipseed is pastor.

THE NEW YORK AND NEW YORK EAST CONFERENCE CHAPTERS AND THE NEW YORK CITY CHAPTER cooperated in a memorial meeting for the late General Feng Yu-Hsiang which was held on Dec. 3 in Teachers College, New York. The general, a leader of the anti-Chiang forces within the Kuomintang, had been a virtual political exile in the United States for the last two years. He addressed the national meeting of the MFSA at Kansas City last December.

General Feng died in a fire which swept the ship on which he was traveling in late August. The ship, of Russian registry, was in the Black Sea at the time and the general was on his way to China to lend his strength to the struggle against the Chiang dictatorship.

At the memorial service, General Feng was eulogized as "a soldier and a poet . . . a great Chinese, a true internationalist, and a lover of his fellow-men."

THE FEDERATION'S DETROIT CONFERENCE CHAPTER held its fall retreat October 17 and 18 in Mt. Olivet Church, Dearborn, Michigan, with the largest attendance on record. About 180 persons turned out in a week crowded with other church functions. Participation by laymen justified the opinion of officers that if the conference began Sunday afternoon many lay persons would attend. Declared one woman, "This is the greatest thing I've seen in months!"

First speaker on Sunday was Dr. John E. Marvin, editor of the *Michigan Christian Advocate* and correspondent at Amsterdam, who reported the assembly of the World Council of Churches with notes on his subsequent visit in Germany. During the supper hour, Rev. Edgar Wahlberg, host pastor, gave pointers on how to organize a social action committee, based on Mt. Olivet experience. The evening session featured a panel of six laymen from the entertaining church dealing with campaign issues in light of Christian principles. The speakers drew from the pamphlet, *Methodist Pronouncements Compared with Political Platforms*, and provided helpful pre-election counsel to all comers.

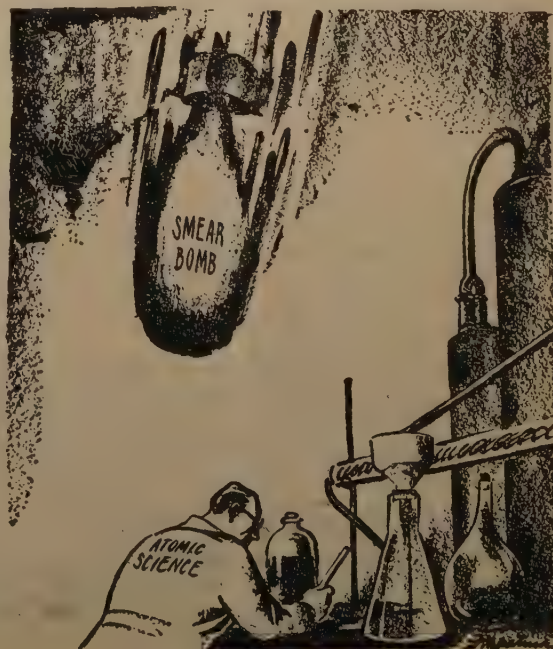
There were five sections on Monday following devotions led by Bishop Marshall R. Reed. Dr. Paul Morrison, pastor of Highland Park Trinity and a former chapter president, told about the Industrial Seminar conducted in Detroit last

summer for séminary students, and sketched progress towards an Industrial Chaplaincy. A Wayne University professor discussed the East-West problem from a too militaristic standpoint.

Three scheduled speakers were heard in the afternoon. Rev. Ralph Harper of Flushing spoke on Implications of the Draft. The merit of this presentation was such that the group voted his notes be written in full for publication in *SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN*. Mr. Harper pleaded for every minister to have a conference with every youth in the parish. Conscription makes it imperative for the Church to give special aid to young people looking towards right life work decisions. Later discussion called for specific help to be given at MYF rallies and institutes. Dr. William H. Williams, a Negro Methodist minister, presented Developments in Inter-racial Brotherhood. Rev. Sheldon Rahn, chairman of the Social Service Department of the Detroit Council of Churches, gave valuable advice on Safeguarding Our Civil Liberties. Two others delivered extemporaneous temperance messages, the first Dr. Gordon Phillips, a candidate for governor on the Prohibition ticket. The other, Rev. Paul Pumphrey, pastor at Lapeer, recounted experiences in leading the state's only effort in local option.

The last utterance was thought to be the most provocative of any. It went home with one preacher to disturb his slumbers and impel a summons to Federation members the following day. Twenty-one responded, named this man, Rev. Owen Knox of St. Clair, chairman of a helping committee, and pledged their aid. Methodist ministers from out of the county have since moved in and are aiding by circulating literature, house-to-house calling, and various types of leadership. Workers met in the county seat Sunday afternoon, October 31, and conducted booster meetings in every township. Wets are fighting hard to protect their annual million dollar take in a rural county of 32,000 population. Federation men find themselves poorly equipped for practical service in the field. Responding to Rev. Pumphrey's challenge to live up to the name, Social Action, some of them realize they are more at home in pulpit and classroom. If prohibition wins November 2nd Lapeer County will be the only dry unit in Michigan. The MFSA group heard an unscheduled, moving appeal which may echo throughout the year.

Other meetings of the chapter are planned for January, May and June. Earl Sawyer is president, George Woomer, vice-president, and Walter Saxman, secretary-treasurer.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

PROGRAM

National Annual Membership Meeting

Methodist Federation for Social Action

William Penn College
Oskaloosa, Iowa

DECEMBER 28-30

Theme: *Religion and Science: Allied for Peace and Freedom.*

Tuesday December 28

- 10:00 a.m. to noon Registration. Room Assignments.
10:30 MFSA Executive Committee meeting jointly with National Committee.
12:30 Lunch.
2:00 Opening Worship. Dr. Corliss P. Hargraves.
2:30 President's Address, Bishop Robert N. Brooks.
Executive Secretary's Address, Rev. Jack R. McMichael.
4:00 Fellowship Hour. Tea.
5:00 Keynote Address: "Prophetic Religion and the World Crisis," Dr. John B. Thompson, Dean of the Chapel, University of Chicago.
6:00 Supper.
7:30 Address: "Prerequisites for American-Soviet Understanding and Peace," Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, Professor of Political Science, Williams College.
Question Period.

Wednesday, December 29

- 7:30 Breakfast.
9:00 Addresses: "Towards Peace and Democracy in China," Mrs. Welthy H. Fisher, Far Eastern expert, author, and lecturer (wife of the late Bishop Frederick Fisher), "The Truman Doctrine—Two Years After," Rev. Edgar Wahlberg. Formerly with UNRRA in China and Greece. Dr. Theodor Rosebury, outstanding bacteriologist, "Peace or Extinction."
10:30 Commissions (List of Resource Leaders, Partial).
A. *Colonialism and the Far East* (towards the end of colonialism and democratic progress in the Far East). Chairman, Dr. Loyd Worley, Pastor, Methodist Church, Stamford, Connecticut. Resource leader: Mrs. Welthy Fisher.
B. *Europe* (towards a secure, peaceful and cooperative Europe). Chairman, Rev. Edgar Wahlberg.
C. *American-Soviet Relations* (towards U.S.-USSR peace and understanding). Chairman, Dr. Carl Soule, Commission on World Peace. Resource leaders: Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Rev. Dr. L. L. Dunnington.
D. *Militarism* (towards world disarmament and a peace-making America).
12:30 Lunch.
1:30 Addresses: "Religion and Organized Labor," Dr. Willard Uphaus, Director of National Religion and Labor Foundation; "The Church and the Cooperative Movement," Herbert Fledderjohn.
3:00 Commissions A, B, C, D.
4:00 Addresses: "American Racial Patterns and the Gospel Ethic," Dr. Ira D. Reid, Haverford College; "The Struggle for Academic Freedom," Dr. George Parker, Department of Philosophy and

Religion, dismissed from semi-Methodist Evansville College for his political stand: "The Crisis in Democratic Rights and the Free Pulpit." Dr. Harry F. Ward, Chairman for many years of the American Civil Liberties Union; formerly Executive Secretary MFSA; Professor Emeritus, Union Theological Seminary. Dorothy Tilly: "Civil Rights Program."

- 6:00 Supper.
7:00 Business Session. Nominations, Elections. Report from Commission on Propaganda Analysis.
7:45 Commissions (Listing of Resource Leaders, Partial).
E. *Labor and the Economic Order* (towards economic democracy and justice). Chairman, Rev. Edward Peet, Pastor Mill Valley Methodist Church, Mill Valley, California. Resource leaders: Dr. Willard Uphaus, Dr. Loyd Worley, Rev. Gilbert Cox, Mr. E. J. Fricke.
F. *Agriculture* (towards a stable, abundant agricultural economy). Chairman, Marjorie Minkler, W. S. C. S.
G. *Democratic Rights* (towards full democratic freedom for all). Chairman, Rev. Wayne White, Pastor, Bronx, N. Y.
H. *Racial Practices* (towards racial equality and brotherhood). Chairman, Miss Thelma Stevens, Director Dept. Christian Social Relations, W. D. C. S. Resource leaders: Dr. Ira D. Reid, Dr. Albert E. Barnett.

Thursday, December 30

- 7:00 Breakfast.
8:00 Plenary Session. Adoption of MFSA Program.
1:00 Lunch.
2:00 Closing Communion Service. Bishop Robert N. Brooks and Associates.

REGISTRATION FEE: \$3.00. (This will not defray the costs of the meeting. Extra contributions are welcome.)
ROOM AND BOARD (2 nights and 7 meals): \$6.50.

Send in your Registration
NOW

TRANSPORTATION: Reach Oskaloosa via any railroad to Des Moines or via the Burlington R. R. to Ottumwa, where (by previous arrangement) trains will be met and where there is frequent bus service to Oskaloosa.

REGISTRATION BLANK

M.F.S.A. ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

December 28-30, 1948

WILLIAM PENN COLLEGE, OSKALOOSA, IOWA

Enclosed herewith is my \$3.00 registration fee. ☐
I shall plan to bring friends with me.
Please send registration blanks for them. ☐
Please reserve the following accommodations for me:

	Sleeping	Dining
Dec. 28.....		<input type="checkbox"/>
Dec. 29.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dec. 30.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name (please print).....

Address.....

.....

MFSA Opposes Nation Ban in N. Y. City Schools

Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools
New York City

Dear Dr. Jansen:

Thanks for your letter of November 3 and for sending me copy of your printed statement explaining and defending the action of the Board of Superintendents concerning *The Nation*.

We appreciate and agree with the position that the public schools should foster understanding and amity between religious and racial groups. It was for this very reason that we in the Methodist Federation for Social Action shared with you last year our protest (which still continues) over the decision to discontinue important alertness credit, teacher-training courses in intercultural education—courses aimed at helping teachers themselves more adequately to appreciate the contributions of varying racial, national, and religious groups. We noted that this decision was reached following pressure exerted by the Roman Catholic organ, the *Brooklet Tablet*, and by the *New York World-Telegram*.

The decision to ban the *Nation* from the schools—again, is, we understand, in response to Roman Catholic pressure—the very pressure effectively applied in other places on the same issue, such as Newark and Massachusetts. The religious tolerance you espouse in your booklet may well be impeded, not advanced, by any further development tending to suggest that some educational authorities in our city are peculiarly ready to submit to pressure from this one religious source—even when doing so is widely regarded as inimical to democratic principles. We are glad to note that the similar action taken against *The Nation* and against free expression and inquiry in Massachusetts has been revoked. We hope the same victory for democratic principles will come in New York City.

Are the practices of any religious groups to be regarded as beyond scrutiny in the magazines and newspapers available as reading material, for Americans, including students? Especially if these practices (including the more narrowly conceived “religious” ones) affect human welfare and progress? Is any magazine to be barred from the libraries of our schools merely because in one or two issues articles have been submitted which involved such critical scrutiny?

You print in your booklet the standard by which you especially condemn two of the articles which appear in *The Nation* series. It is noted that the ban is not on these two articles or even on the series, but on *The Nation* per se. And that the ban came after these two articles and the entire series had been completed. You seek in vain to present this action as in harmony with what you describe as the agreement of the Board of Superintendents that “Where a magazine that has been approved for listing contains in a certain issue an article or articles which the Board feels should not be called to the attention of pupils, that issue only shall be withdrawn from the library shelves without affecting the magazine’s place on the official list.” You justify your action in banning *The Nation* as such, rather than the specific two articles to which you object, by claiming that *The Nation* (which had been approved and in school libraries for many years) had by the mere publication of the two articles in question proven itself to be anti-Catholic in its “editorial policy” (your words), at least to the extent of being willing “to permit the publication of articles that are an attack on the Catholic religion.” But you do not prove your charge that the “editorial policy of *The Nation*” has become anti-Catholic. Merely by citing two articles, you cannot prove such an accusation against a distinguished magazine in which thousands of articles have appeared. Would it not be much more in keeping with American tradition of democratic fair play first to give the accused an opportunity to speak, that is, the editor of the magazine an opportunity herself to describe the magazine’s editorial policy?

One finds in your booklet no light as to whether Mr. Blanshard’s statements were true or false, accurate or inaccurate—irresponsible slander or objective if critical reporting. Is this matter of truth irrelevant? If the articles are inaccurate, should their inaccuracies not be cited—sharply and specifically—and, first of all, in the pages of *The Nation* itself? If the articles are accurate, even though critical, is the cause of democratic education to be advanced by seeking to deny to students all access to this particular segment of truth?

Is uncritical acceptance of the practices criticized by Mr. Blanshard an essential part of the faith or beliefs of every good Catholic? Do the two Blanshard articles you attack even mention any of the essentials of Catholic faith listed by the *Catholic Almanac*, page 209, as doctrines which “every Christian must believe?” Have the facts criticized by Mr. Blanshard been free of strong criticism by Catholics in good standing in their Church? Is Mr. Blanshard accurate or inaccurate when he claims that “Monsignor John L. Belford of Brooklyn, in the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, of October, 1928, condemned the ‘commercialism which surrounds shrines’ and said: ‘We do loathe, despise, and condemn the contemptible practice of applying the relic with one hand and collecting money with the other.’ He said that some relics were ‘advertised like a circus’ and ‘Catholics are ashamed and non-Catholics horrified.’”

Is the Board of Superintendents ready to carry out the full logic of its position as described in your booklet? Is it ready to ban from all school libraries all Catholic or pro-Catholic publications which have at any time contained articles to which the defenders of the Protestant or Jewish faiths can take exception? I hope your answer is in the negative and that the whole position of the Board in this matter will be reconsidered and revised.

Should not the Board and you make a clearer distinction between what teaching is permitted in classrooms with reference to religion—and what magazines are permitted on library shelves?

The Executive Committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Action met in Chicago on October 29, under the chairmanship of Bishop Robert N. Brooks and with the active leadership of bishops and other church leaders from every section of the country. The Committee was unanimous in its condemnation of the banning of *The Nation*, and it is on their behalf that I reiterate the request that the ban be lifted.

Yours sincerely,
JACK R. McMICHAEL
Executive Secretary

Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang

Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang died on his way to North China to participate in the coming Political Consultative Conference which he hoped would bring about a democratic and peaceful China. Although he was sixty-seven years old, the Marshal believed he still had a contribution to make toward the realization of the Chinese people’s age-old aspirations for that democracy which he hoped the twentieth century would bring them. In his “Farewell to America,” he said, “I am fully confident about the final victory of the democratic movement all over China. And I can assure you, my friends, that the New China will not only maintain its friendship with the United States but will also improve it.”

Marshal Feng’s life falls into three main periods: first, as a follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, he had a part in the founding of the Chinese Republic; later, as the Christian General, he was among the first to lead his command against the Japanese aggressors and continued his fight through the long war years; and finally, after V-J Day, he devoted all his energies to the fight against oppression.

The Marshal reached the conclusion that the Kuomintang, under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was not capable of bringing about fundamental changes for the benefit of a majority of his countrymen. He did not hesitate to voice his conviction that the American Government's financial and military aid to the Kuomintang regime was prolonging war in China and betraying the Chinese people. Nor did he spare himself in his efforts to tell the American people that such policy was against their interest and damaged the traditional friendship between China and the United States.

Marshal Feng was a soldier and a poet. He was a simple man. He never dealt in circumlocutions. If he had something to say, he said it. He deliberately shunned security and the prospect of a comfortable old age in his country because he had an ideal he believed was worth fighting for and to which he gave his devotion and his last strength.

(Continued from page 134)

In the final analysis, the Republicans lost because they got too far away from the people. Newspapers and public opinion polls are big business, and they fooled their own political party into thinking they knew what the people wanted. They didn't. The people didn't want "competence" or "unity." They wanted prices to fall. They wanted houses to go up. They wanted an end to the Berlin dispute and peace with Russia.

There is a lesson here for the church, is there not? Like the newspapers, the public opinion polls, and the Republicans, may not the church be misinterpreting the public mind? May it not be speaking a language the people do not understand? Historically, it is quite all right—even necessary—for the church to be against the secular society and the political order, whatever that may be, but the church can never be against the people. In order to comfort the people and lead the people and be a vehicle for the expression of the people's will for good (God) the church must be in *rapport* with the people.

Too often the church is in *rapport* not with the people but with the Republican party, which it confuses with the people in much the same way that the Republicans themselves do. An election like this one is salutary reminder that the real thoughts, aspirations, and needs of the people, in the religious as in the political realm, are not always what we (who think we know what is best for the people) believe them to be.

ALSON J. SMITH

PEACE TAKES PRACTICE

Use church services, young peoples' meetings, men's clubs and women's societies and Sunday Schools to educate for peace, foster international understanding and goodwill and undergird the United Nations. Write to the MFSA, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City 11, for free United Nations materials. Observe a United Nations Sunday. Send your church collections on United Nations and World Peace Sundays to the Methodist Federation for Social Action to support its work for peace and to strengthen the UN.

Said a married man ruefully to his friend, "Polygamy would never work in this country. Imagine six wives in a kitchenette."

—New York Star

The Federation Mailbag

LIKES US

Mt. Morris, Mich.

Editor Alson J. Smith,

From your editorial of the October bulletin it is clear that you are able to penetrate thru the fogs of our "democratic capitalism" to its real sick, hard, blind and naive heart. Kalsomine justice is only good enough for devotees of the system. The Amos spirit which dares to tear off the mask is most regrettably rare. And I suppose it is silly to expect the smug middle-class pew and pulpit of America to be prophetic, since present-day Protestantism still remains the ornate handmaiden of the order which provides the adornments as well as its sustenance.

To witness the extent to which the mind of our leadership can be colored and misled by machinations of the hand that feeds it, look at the enclosed editorial on Dulles the Man of the Hour, splashed with big gobs of adulation on a page of the *Michigan Christian Advocate* by one who proclaims himself to be a "liberal," but who has fallen deep from the grace he professes, the grace of well-informed, critical, objective, realistic, and responsible thinking and writing. How any one with his eyes open can slobber over and back up a man who has done so much to divide our world and to hold back social advance, is not easy to understand, unless you allow in kindness that his mind be uncritical, unhistorical and sweetly innocent. Of course, the journal he edits is denominated Methodism's OFFICIAL paper in Michigan. Why cannot "official" papers tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth? "They can," says the top authority, "and the pulpit of the Methodist minister is free, too." True, he is free to declare himself, but some of us have learned that he is also free to take the consequences in an institution which is always ready to sacrifice the individual for the ongoing of the machine's movements, even though the individual has a native right to be a critic of his own church and also the right to have his views examined with understanding and accepted even if that upsets apple-carts in the interest of future good of the race. The price of such "freedom" is not now death on the old rugged cross but defamation in church counsels and boards, innuendos, slanders, false "red" and other color labels, a general discreditment by the supermen, who become self-styled defenders of the faith, meaning really that they are holding the fort for those who provide the kale, especially big kale.

In your warm, blunt, yet sane editorial on "What Is Truth?" of October BULLETIN, you express the need for a new Reformation, a new church, a new priesthood, a new beginning in seeking and finding the truth. But will Pilate and his reactionary, death-dealing system be present and what will he do? What is he not doing even now thru his henchmen such as Dulles, and the "little brothers of the well-to-do?" Will such a new type of church society be born in Dulles palaces, or in "ditto" pulpits, or will it have to fight for its life in modern catacombs? Who follows in such a train? Or, will the world have to wait until the present ecclesia crumbles along with the economic powers that support it?

Yours for more unashamed truth in your "unofficial" paper, with the hope that our officialdom will catch higher and far-reaching motives than now characterize it!

Very Sincerely,

W. J. Dudgeon

Minister, the Methodist Church

LOATHES US

New Castle, Ky.

Gentlemen:

Mr. Hall's article in your bulletin might have been prepared for publication in the *Sunday Worker* or *Izvestia*. Mr. Wallace has shouted the same untruths all over the country. The thread-bare charges made against our Republic are not convincing tho often repeated. It is Russia that threatens the peace of the world—not the U.S.A.

I deeply resent the use of the name "Methodist" on your publication.

Sincerely,

O. B. Crockett

Methodist Minister

LIKES US

Rensselaerville, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

In the October issue the searing but just comments of I. F. Stone on John Foster Dulles and of yourself on Reinhold Niebuhr and John Foster Dulles warmed my heart, chilled by what Dr. Garland E. Hopkins at Chautauqua this summer called "The unreliability, approaching irresponsibility, of the American press."

Yours Truly,

L. A. Eldridge, Jr., M.D.

LOATHES US

Durham, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Smith:

In your editorial "What Is Truth?" in the October number of the BULLETIN you broadly imply that Reinhold Niebuhr has sold himself. You use the word "sin" in a context that unavoidably commits you to the view that he is consciously doing wrong for a pecuniary reward.

By what right do you, editor of a publication professedly devoted to a liberal way of life, thus impugn the character of someone with whose judgment you disagree?

There is an intemperate quality about the whole editorial that gives at least one member of the Federation a fed-up feeling as regards the whole organization.

Yours Truly,

Donald C. Babcock

ACTION ON THOMAS COMMITTEE

House Un-American Committee Chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, has been indicted as a crook, liar, and thief—for padding his payroll and pocketing money intended for non-existent secretaries. Millions of voters in backing the President's Civil Rights Program showed their contempt for the racial bigotry of Committee members like John Rankin.

Now the Committee has given American citizens one more reason for asking—in the name of decency and democratic development—that it be abolished. It has issued a pamphlet on "Communism and Religion"—which defines the Methodist Federation for Social Action as "a tool of the Communist party"!!! The Committee does not because it cannot, give evidence for this nonsensical charge. Of course, there has never been the slightest connection between the Federation and the Communist party. The Committee does not, because it dare not, name the members and leaders of the Federation who actually formulate its policies and program in our annual meetings and in meetings of our elected. Executive and Administrative Committees—men and women from Methodism's episcopacy, clergy, laity, all in excellent standing with the Church and all loyal to the Gospel of Jesus and to American democracy. The Committee says nothing about the democratic processes by which the Federation program is developed. It does not know. It does not care. It has made no investigation. It has asked us no questions. It has no concern for relevant truth—but only exists to spread intimidation, prejudice, hysteria, falsehood. By every moral and democratic test the Committee fails. It should be abolished. Our Federation policy on this has been thoroughly vindicated by these recent events. "By their fruits you shall know them."

Write your Congressman today. Write him as a Federation member. Share your indignation. Call for the Committee's abolition. American democracy and peace are insecure until this is done.

Send us a penny postcard and tell us what you've done.

Books and Pamphlets

"Knowing what to expect, but not expecting the impossible is the best general guide for parents," Clara Lambert declares in the new 32-page illustrated pamphlet, *Understand Your Child—Ages 6 to 12*, issued recently by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., of New York.

Because the school years between nursery and adolescence seem to have been by-passed by investigators, Mrs. Lambert, who was for twelve years Director of Teacher Education at

the Play Schools Association, calls them "the forgotten years of childhood."

For dealing with children in this difficult phase of growth—when they seem to be "not so lovable as they were at three, nor so exciting as they are in adolescence"—the pamphlet offers the following suggestions to be used, not as an infallible guide for on-the-spot emergencies, but for long-term guidance in helping your child to develop fully:

Know what to expect beforehand. Be prepared for questions about sex, "shockers," tall tales, lies, or stealing.

"Shockers" are best handled with humor and a light touch. And a simple, direct, honest answer without a display of shame, confusion, or anger helps to give children a constructive attitude toward sex.

When a child lies, he may be afraid of punishment or of losing your love. Relax your demands, make him feel sure of your love and understanding no matter what happens.

Go along with his "pretend games." In this way you help him separate fact from fancy—and even have fun doing it.

Stealing is usually brought about because there is not enough adventure in your child's life. Give him more things to do and more attention.

Keep talking things over together. Keep the avenues of communication open. Reading stories is one way to have little "talk fests" which lead to understanding.

Encourage dramatic play, even though it is often a noisy, dirty, highly emotional activity, for it is through play that children work out their own problems.

Share experiences with your child. Experiences shared with you provide richer play material than a closetful of toys.

Don't make too many rules and regulations. Your children want rules, laws, and regulations, but they like the "rubber band" type which can be stretched a little but not broken. You must know how to compromise gracefully, be firm without rancor, be fair, and even look the other way sometimes to sidestep an unimportant issue.

In order that parents may be relieved of some of their worries and learn that behavior which they thought was abnormal or "bad" is merely "six-year-oldness," or "seven," or "eight," and so on, Mrs. Lambert has included in the pamphlet a series of sketches about each year from six to twelve. These are not sketches of problem children, but the problems of children as they grow.

Understand Your Child—Ages 6 to 12, by Clara Lambert, is Pamphlet No. 144 in the series of popular, factual, twenty-cent pamphlets issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization at 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. Other pamphlets in the Public Affairs "family life" series are: *Enjoy Your Child—Ages 1, 2, 3*; *Keeping Up with Teen-Agers*, *Building Your Marriage*, *When You Grow Older*, *Broken Homes*, *Planning Your Family*, and *Live Long and Like It*.

The youth delegates at Amsterdam issued a statement declaring that the Church has degenerated into a middle-class institution, that the elders usually do not know what they are talking about when they deal with Communism, and that the church had better do something about the evils Communism seeks to eradicate: economic injustice, racial inequality social prejudice.

The editor of the book, "Hopkins and Roosevelt," writes: "The Hopkins papers make clear that there were no 'surrenders' at Yalta. The decisions on the veto power and on giving Russia three votes were made before Yalta; there was no commitment on reparations; it was the British who won on the issue of the French zone; and as for Poland, Roosevelt thought that that vexatious problem was on the road to solution."